1:f Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

rule, but it is weaker among the Shuswap than others. This may be due to contact with the Carrier, where the question is hardly a pertinent one (see above), but specialization is not characteristic. The Kutenai stand alone in assuming that spirits are specialized and yet that a man may obtain only one.

Since particularized powers characterize the Coast it seems obvious that we are dealing with but two centers, the Coast and the south central Plateau. Coastal influences up the Fraser Valley may well account for the specialization there, while less direct trans-Cascade diffusion plus marginal variation may be inferred in the other cases. This assumes that *non-specialization* is a positive element. I think this must be granted; it is obvious when expressed correctly but awkwardly, "Any spirit may grant any power." Specialization of spirits must not be confused with the granting of specialized talents, a universal feature in the Plateau.

Not unrelated to the above is intentional search for a specific spirit, or any of a group of spirits conferring similar power. One might surmise that the intentional search would be coextensive with specialized spirits. This is exactly the case at the extremes. Groups with modified specialization align with those lacking it: quest objectives are indefinite. In speaking of definite objectives as lacking it is not implied that blessings of a general nature—good luck, health, wealth—are not sought and expected.[36] This brings into relief an aspect of the spirit concept often overlooked. Favors of two kinds are invariably conveyed throughout the Plateau: general good fortune and a specific talent. It is the latter which may or may not be specialized according to spirit identity. One further note: in the area where specific objectives are absent, they are only *formally* lacking. The youth undoubtedly harbors secret desires in many cases. Indeed, this surely accounts for the specific nature of many a vision.

The inheritance of spirits is a knotty problem since the interpretations of inheritance are numerous. A spirit may be strictly hereditary in the lineage, perhaps unilaterally. This system prevails on the Coast north of the Quinault, resulting in some cases in "spirit quests" that are merely empty forms for ritualistic purposes.[37] Heredity of this

p. 237; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, p. 86; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 133 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 249. [36] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95.

[37] E.g., Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies*, pp. 503 ff.

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kind is unknown in the Plateau. But frequently a man instructs one of his spirits to appear to his son or presents the boy with a symbol which will aid in obtaining a specific spirit. This is not merely a vague reflection of the coastal pattern of heredity, for in the latter case, at least,

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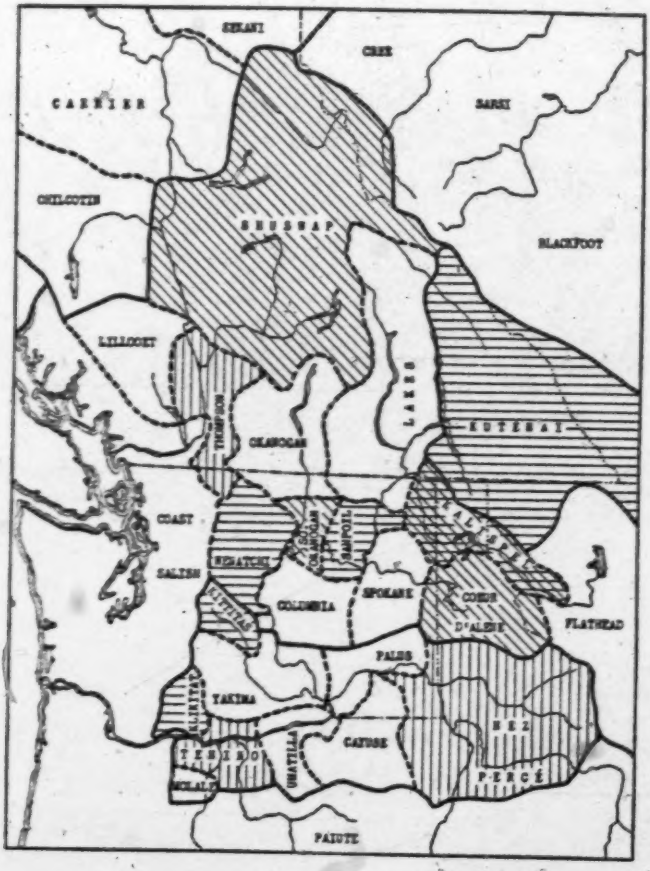

MAP 9. Inheritance of guardian spirits. *Vertical hatching:* true inheritance; *horizontal hatching:* upon instruction only; *diagonal hatching:* transference by use of symbol.

the father often selects a symbol unrepresentative of any of his own spirits. Furthermore, an unrelated person, an elderly shaman or merely a proctor, may send out his spirit to be found or may provide the symbol. The pattern of so instructing one's own spirit typifies the south

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central area (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Kutenai). It is lacking for the Klamath, Wishram (?), Southern Okanogan, Flathead, and Canadian Plateau. The distribution is mutually exclusive of that of transmission by means of a symbol (Southern Okanogan,[38] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Shuswap; not Lillooet, Flathead) except for the Kalispel where the practices seem to reflect amalgamation. Neither of these concepts appears typical of any adjacent area; they may, therefore be considered local developments with the Canadian-American areas once more contrasted in specific trait identity though the continuity of distribution argues for a general relation of the two concepts.

Certain of the groups lacking both traits do, nevertheless, possess a more specific notion of inheritance. These are the very ones most intimately associated with the Coast (Klamath, Tenino, Thompson), plus the Nez Percé, the "Plains tribe" which shows upon close analysis many coastal features undoubtedly received via the Columbia-Snake route. Among the Tenino, according to Murdock, "guardian spirits are transmitted by a parent of either sex to an own child of either sex —but by or to no one else—at the winter shamanistic performances."[39] The absence of heredity among the Wishram may actually represent only absence of data. Altogether these cases support Spier's contention that even minimal reflection of true inheritance points to a coastal origin.[40]

And yet the case is not closed. All the southern examples, with the exception of the Tenino, may actually involve the spirit-ghost concept. The fundamentals of this idea were given above. When a man possessing a guardian spirit dies, not only does his soul become a ghost, but his guardian spirit may undergo a similar transformation and become a spirit-ghost. The spirit-ghost lacks almost completely its former characteristics; even its generic name is dropped. Instead it refers to itself (in communion with man) by the term for spirit-ghost or a *relationship term designating the person who before death possessed it.* The spirit-ghost, *in the guise of the deceased*, appears to a person in a dream or vision and seeks acceptance as a secondary power. That person is usually but not invariably a relative. This commonly happens within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost speaks to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father (or friend). I

[38] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 137 f.
[39] Murdock, personal correspondence.
[40] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 247–49.

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want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[41]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[42]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[43] Sanpoil).

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One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

[41] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[42] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[43] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 153.